

**INFORMATIONAL**

COUNTRY

**Index**

DATE DISTR. 29 April 1948

**SUBJECT**

Outline of the Activities of the Second Session  
of the Communist Party Congress Held in Calcutta

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DATE OF INFO

SUPPLEMENT TO  
REPORT NO.

1. The Second Session of the Communist Party Congress was held from 28 February 1948 to 6 March 1948 at the Mohammad Ali Park in Calcutta.
2. At the first day's sitting, attended by 600 delegates, several foreign fraternal delegates were introduced and goodwill messages from the United States, Russia, England, France, Greece, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were read.
3. At the second day's sitting grief was expressed over the death of Gandhi and protests were made against the autocratic measures of the governments of the United Provinces and Madras in suppressing the labor movements and arresting Communist workers. P. C. Joshi stated that 800 delegates representing 100,000 Communist Party members in India and Pakistan had come to attend the Session. He criticized the Indian government for ordering the Australian representative to leave India when the Session was over.
4. At the third day's sitting, the new C.P.I. constitution was discussed by Dr. Adhikari, P. C. Joshi, Bhowani Sen, Biswanath Mukherjee, Joglikar, Moulavi Z. A. Ahmed, and Mr. L. R. Jank. It was decided that the capitalistic elements in Congress were becoming more conspicuous, as the present policy towards labor made evident. Dr. Adhikari stated that a clash between Congress and the Communist Party of India was inevitable. Citing the oppressive measures of the governments of the United Provinces and Madras, he warned all Communist workers to be cautious and added that Party membership should be restricted. Before obtaining membership a person should give proof of practical experience in dealing with labor movements as well as of his pro-Communist Party feelings. He said that India had been divided into two camps, the bourgeoisie, represented by Congress backed by the Imperialist powers, and the proletariat, represented by the C.P.I. backed by the working classes of the world. He said that a chapter should be incorporated in the draft constitution exposing Congress and that an incessant struggle should be launched against Indian monopoly and capitalism. P. C. Joshi differed with Dr. Adhikari. He was not in favor of too many restrictions on membership. He also observed that the Government should be opposed only on the merit of the issue and not on its party affiliation. He was supported by Shogie from Bombay but opposed by Bhowani Sen, Biswanath Mukherjee and Moulavi Z. A. Ahmed. Bhowani Sen declared Joshi's attitude to be reactionary.
5. At the fourth day's sitting, Bhowani Sen, supported by D. T. Randive, urged that the constitution drafted by Dr. Adhikari be amended as follows (The motion was carried and incorporated in the draft constitution.)

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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- (1) The Communist party should launch a program of action against the Indian capitalists and Congress and the Party members should be prepared for the impending proletarian revolution.
  - (2) Membership in the Party should be given, after proper scrutiny by the Central Committee, only to those workers, who, besides having a working knowledge of the "Communist Manifesto", had six months work in the labor cells to their credit, respecting which a certificate had been forwarded to the Provincial Secretary by the District Secretary and by the Provincial Secretary to the Central Committee.
  - (3) No member would be able to criticize the Central Committee except through a cell.
6. Describing the various Party policies during the last five years, Randive referred to the theories of the United Front and the People's War and remarked that the policies of the C.P.I. were the outcome of the development of the International Communist movement controlled by the U.S.S.R. The Indian Communists would, therefore, if necessary, fight other Indians for the furtherance of their cause.
  7. At the fifth day's sitting, B.T. Randive stressed the urgency of protecting minority rights which could best be protected on the basis of majority voice. He mentioned that the U.S.S.R. had solved the problem ideally. P.C. Joshi then read out his report regarding the activities of the Party for the past five years. Indicative of the intensive work done by the Party in the field of labor is the fact that the Party had more than 500 unions under it. In the field of peasant agitation there is the Tebhaga movement, in the face of strong Government opposition, and the expansion of the Kisan Sabha all over India and Pakistan. Joshi regretted that the Congress-dominated Government was so capitalistic in outlook that it overlooked the Communist plan to solve labor unrest. The Government was blind, he felt, to the merits of planned economy and also the necessity of the working classes for a higher living wage since the inflation. He said that around 100,000 members had been enlisted during the past five years and that a network of cells (labor, peasant, student and youth) numbering about 900 had been spread all over India and Pakistan. He added that the Red Guards had been raised to safeguard the interests of the proletariat. He remarked also that the propaganda section of the Party was excellent and announced that sound political cadres had been organized which facilitated the raising of funds and setting up of zonal committees.
  8. The sixth day's sitting began with a resolution drafted by the "Polit Bureau" (Dange, Randive and P.C. Joshi) in consultation with Showani Sen. The resolution was passed despite opposition to some parts of it by delegates from Bombay, Bihar, and United Provinces. It urged that the working classes be organized to prepare for the proletarian revolution, in order that the history of the Paris Commune would not be repeated in India. Without a leftist consolidation it was felt that the Communists would not be able to rise above the odds against them. Other resolutions passed concerned: (1) confiscation of zamindars' lands and distribution of these lands among the peasants; (2) denunciation of a separate nation for the Frontier people and recognition of them as a minority who should have their proper share in the Government; (3) abolition of the rule of the Indian Princes; (4) suggesting that the fight against communalism be best carried out by an organized offensive against capitalism, the mainstay of communalism.
  9. At the seventh day's sitting on 5 March 1948, the delegates concerned themselves with criticism of Party policy. Showani Sen said it was time that the Party won the confidence of other leftist organizations. It was also resolved that there should be separate committees for India and Pakistan and that the Pakistan committee would be formed during the Party Pakistan Conference. The sitting came to an end with the selection of a committee panel which included: B.T. Randive, General Secretary, Dange, Adhikari, P.C. Joshi (Bombay), Joglekar (Bombay), L.K. Oak (Bombay), Somnath Lahiri, Showani Sen (Bengal), Biswanath Mukherjee (Bengal), Saroj Mukherjee (Bengal), Kantilal J. Sha (Mysore), M.P. Rao, Managing Editor of the People's Age, Moulavi Z.A. Ahmed, (United Provinces), Komaramangalam (Madras), Raja Gopal Rao (Mysore), Jokhan Singh (Behar), Ram Anwar (United Provinces), Moulavi Osman (United Provinces), Perin Barucha (East Punjab), Ranen Sen (Bengal), and eleven others.

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